

SOCIAL ACTION

A large, dark silhouette of three people walking from left to right, holding a long banner. The person on the left is a woman, the middle is a man, and the right is another woman. The banner is light-colored and contains the text 'YOUTH ORGANIZES TO GAIN RIGHTS'. The background is a textured, light brown paper.

YOUTH ORGANIZES

TO GAIN RIGHTS

10 Cents

SOCIAL ACTION

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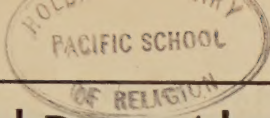
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COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION

of the

Congregational and Christian Churches of America
289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.



Troubled Days Ahead for Youth

• By Harry T. Stock

Young people have always had problems. They will have them under any economic system, no matter how perfect it may be, for much of their difficulty is psychological and spiritual. Some of their inner conflicts bear little relation to the problems of our social life. But they do live in an actual world. The forces outside them create and accentuate inner conflicts. In addition to facing the stress and storm which come with a normal adolescent development, the young people of today are tragically affected by the social hurricane of our time.

The Right to an Education

They need a chance to secure an adequate education, education for life as well as for a living. The financial dribbles provided by the federal administration are not to be sneezed at, but they solve no basic problem. Hosts of worthy young people have so little that they cannot go on to college.

If young people go to college, what of their vocational future? Scouts from big industries no longer visit the universities to offer bright young seniors a chance to move quickly up the ladder of success. Whether a boy goes to a school of agriculture, an institute of technology, or a graduate college of medicine or law, the future looks much the same. It is not so rosy.

It is all very well to say that we need to recapture the pioneer spirit, that young people should be made to clear difficult trails. But five million youths are out of school and out of work—where can they turn? Suppose they are willing to take the hurdles—upon what course shall they set out? There are geographical frontiers to which they may go. The chance to try their mettle is clearly denied to tens of thousands of them.

And what of the postponement of marriage? This is not

merely a matter of sentiment, but it is a spiritual, psychological and social problem of great significance. Denied vocational opportunities, shall these young people also be robbed of the chance to establish homes? What about integrity of personal life and the permanence of the home under such conditions? What about the wrecked personalities which result both from the frustration of mating desires and from marriages which have no sound material basis?

The Threat of War

Then, there is the situation dramatized by the Veterans of Future Wars. Many of these young people with whom we engage in comfortable Sunday night discussions will be dead in the trenches within a few years, unless some unexpected force halts the brewing storm. Who can view calmly the boys in a college chapel, "preparing for life," without shuddering at the realization that terrific powers are preparing them for death? Should not adults, angered at the growing pacifism among youth, rather bend their knees in shame? Is it not true that we honored a generation that has some determination to resist the impending holocaust?

Education, vocation, marriage, the chance to live—these are but four of the problems which press upon this younger generation. What will youth do about them? The discovery of new ways by which they may meet the issues of the time is a problem of tremendous difficulty.

Millions of adolescents are pathetically blind to the tragedies and complexities of the social situation. Schools, increasingly, dare not open the minds of youth to the realities of the hour. Teachers' oaths, drastic prohibitions against an honest examination of philosophies of government, and false interpretations of patriotism aggravate the danger under which many alert teachers have worked. They make cautious instructors even less contemporary than they were. The church in this time of the enthralment of schools, must stab awake the minds of youth.

STATUS OF AMERICAN YOUTH-1935

Each symbol represents 1,000,000 youths, age 16-24

EMPLOYED



UNEMPLOYED



IN SCHOOL



HOUSEWIFE



SOURCE: COMMITTEE ON YOUTH PROBLEMS,
UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Others among the younger generation are aware of some of the issues, but have become phonographic records which repeat the "master's voice," Tory or radical. Here is the member of the "junior economy league" who simplifies all of youth's problems in terms of stopping the reckless waste of government funds. From another quarter arises the person who is certain that no problem of any sort would remain if we would adopt the Marxian philosophy and its implications. Youth has a hard job in learning how to tell truth from propaganda. It is no easy matter to maintain a faith in the future and to avoid a fatuous confidence in established ways or in plausible promises offered by facile orators.

Will Youth Support Fascism?

Many students, aware of the social situation, see no way out except by political action. Where shall they look for

leadership? At present, at least, very few turn to communism. Socialism appeals to a considerable number. Some are charmed by political medicine men. If there were to appear upon the horizon some smooth-tongued orator, who has enough logic and learning to make him convincing, and who is muscular in the grand manner glorifying the idea of "action", large numbers of young people would flock to the support of such a Mussolini.

To many young people, education seems to be too slow a process. It might save society in several centuries. But they are living now. They think they have a right to demand something of the world. It seems to them that by organized political action they may both secure their own rights and establish these rights for the generation of the future. But it is not easy for them to know *what* political action will produce these results. Part of their difficulty is that of finding the method of political action which will solve more problems than it creates.

The church has a responsibility in guiding youth through these trying times. Taking our cue from John Bennett, may we not agree that it must do at least these things:

It must hold clearly before young people the basic social ideals for which we should strive?

It must criticize specifically and with full information the forces and institutions which delay the realization of these ideals.

In emergency situations it must throw its support to the causes which give hope of arresting the powers of greed and crime and injustice.

It must develop within itself nuclei of committed social pioneers who translate their ideals into action.

And, in addition to fostering group enterprises, the church has its timeless opportunity of helping each person with his problems which are uniquely his own.

Government Faces the Problem

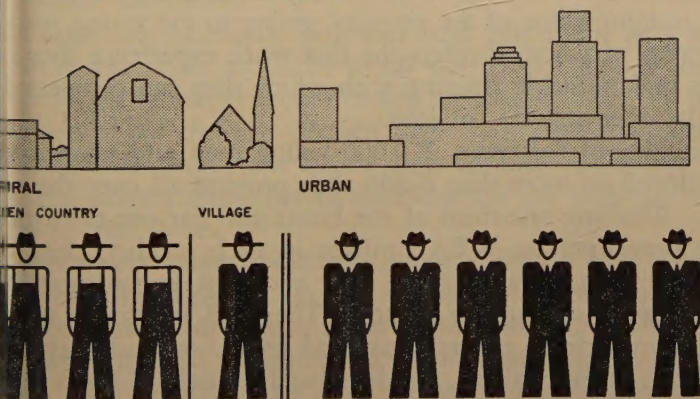
• By Aubrey W. Williams

The National Youth Administration was created to mitigate as far as possible the effects of joblessness on youthful spirits and ambitions. The administration was created by executive order of the President in June, 1935, and was allocated a total of \$50,000,000 of Works Progress Administration funds.

Actual Basis of the N. Y. A. Program

The decision to launch this movement was not predicated on false assumptions as to its need. Through the facilities of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration a mass of factual data had been assembled which gave the clearest picture obtained up to that time of the size and scope of the youth problem in America. It was known, for example, that of approximately 20,000,000 young people in the country between the ages of 16 and 25, nearly one-seventh, or about 3,000,000, were on relief or members of relief families. Sixty per cent

RESIDENCE OF YOUTH ON RELIEF



of these lived in cities while the remainder lived in the country and small villages.

About one-sixth had jobs. Another 1,250,000 were trying to find jobs, while slightly more than 1,100,000, who also were without jobs, were, for one reason or another, not actively attempting to find them. In addition, the numbers in and out of school were known; the extent of their education; their usual occupations of those who had worked; and similar other facts of importance.

With this information at hand it was determined that the most effective approach could be made along these three fronts: employment for out-of-school youths on projects; vocational guidance and placement for those seeking work; and continuation in school for those for whom additional education was feasible.

Employment of Youth

Four general types of projects were set up for the employment of youth. These were designated as youth community development and recreational leadership; rural youth development; public service; and research. The scope of these projects is so broad that almost any kind of socially desirable work could be undertaken. At the same time, great emphasis is placed on the training value of the projects, giving to the young workers to many of whom it offers the first work experience they have ever had, valuable training with which they can compete later in the open market for jobs.

In May of this year, 210,000 young men and women were employed on more than 6,800 such projects all over the country. Working one-third of the hours and for one-third of the pay prevailing on WPA projects in each locality, they were able to earn an average of \$14 each for approximately 100 hours work during the month. They did landscape work in parks and school grounds; assisted recreation and playground leaders; made clothing, bandages and household linen in sewing rooms; expanded services and repaired books; repaired, classified, and catalogued museum material; conducted municipal

l surveys of a dozen different kinds; assisted in the clerical work of various public offices, and otherwise enriched the life of their communities with their services.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION PROJECTS



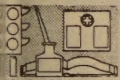
STUDENT AID



COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LEADERSHIP



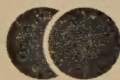
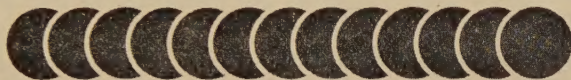
RURAL DEVELOPMENT



PUBLIC SERVICE



RESEARCH



1935-36 PROGRAM

EACH DISC REPRESENTS 2,000,000 DOLLARS

Vocational Guidance

Through the vocational guidance and placement program, the NYA has made available to all youth—not merely those in need of relief—the services of experienced counsellors who can talk with them about the sort of jobs they want; the possibilities of getting such work; the future that various trades, professions, and careers offer; the relative chances for work in various fields, and so on.

In twenty-six cities about the country junior employment officers have been placed on the staffs of local offices of the U. S. Employment Service. These officers concern themselves with discovering job opportunities particularly suited to young people. Late in May, after less than three months operation, they had succeeded in moving more than 1,600 youths from NYA rolls into jobs in private employment.

Another phase of this service is conducted under the Committee on Apprentice Training of the Department of Labor. This agency has received a grant of NYA funds to encourage apprenticeships among large industries on an equitable contract basis which protects the young novice from exploitation. This service, likewise, is extended to all youth and not merely those on relief or NYA rolls.

Aid for Needy Students

Student aid, both from the standpoint of numbers and money involved, is the largest part of the NYA program. Slightly more than one-half the original \$50,000,000 allocation has been devoted to this work. The benefits have been spread among more than 395,000 young people in high schools and colleges all over the country.

The principal criterion for the admission of young people to student aid has been the proving of inability to continue school without such financial help. High school students, however, must meet the additional requirement of coming from relief families.

Monthly benefits under this program vary from \$6 per month for high school students to \$15 per month for undergraduates and \$25 per month for graduate students in colleges and universities. The students perform useful work about the schools and communities in exchange for their wages. The overwhelming testimony of school and public officials over the country has been that this work is of high quality.

The NYA cannot be regarded as the final solvent for America's pressing youth problem. But it is a beginning which holds the greatest promise for good. A groundwork has been laid, and in the laying, certain obstacles which inevitably had to be met, have been met and overcome. That it is headed in the right direction; that its major premise that what youth needs is work, job training and guidance, and an opportunity to complete its education, is fundamentally sound, is substantially proved by the experience of half a million young men and women who have been a part of its work this year.

The Inadequacy of the N.Y.A.

• By William W. Hinckley

The National Youth Administration is admittedly and glaringly inadequate. Its director, Mr. Aubrey Williams, is frank to admit that it merely scratches the surface. And it was not a burden gratuitously assumed by the government. The National Youth Administration was held in abeyance for months, to appear at length largely through the pressure of organized youth itself in the American Youth Congress.

The program, as inaugurated last year, was aimed at three varieties of young people. First, there was the working class youth, which was to be provided with "a limited number of work projects" at "approximately one-third the security wages." There were concomitant provisions for "apprenticeships" at a rate of "not less than one-fourth the journeyman's wage for the first year, and an average of not less than one-half of the journeyman's wage for the remaining four years."

Benefits Extended to Relatively Few

The employer was to guarantee "a reasonably continuous period of employment" and in exchange for this generosity the apprentice was to "*agree to remain in his employ for this period.*"

The yellow-dog contract in the apprenticeship program caused such protests that it relapsed into dead-letterdom and has not stirred since. Since last January 7,000 jobs were given out to non-student unemployed youth in New York City, this long-delayed dispensation being ironically coincident with the publication of the results of a survey conducted by the New York Welfare Council. That survey placed the number of idle youth in New York City at 390,000!

Then there was to be assistance for high school children,

not to exceed \$6 per student per month, and to reach "approximately 200,000 boys and girls above sixteen years of age in relief families." Critics of this program were unkind enough to remind Mr. Williams of his own statement that the preceding year as many as 700,000 young people had been forced to drop out of high school before graduating.

Somewhat more tangible were the benefits accruing to students in institutions of higher learning, with undergraduates getting, on the average, \$15 a month in work relief, and graduates, also on the average, from \$25 to \$30.

"A Cold and Unwelcome World"

Can anyone doubt Mr. Aubrey Williams when he declared that "it is a cold and unwelcome world that our young people are entering"? Morris B. Schnapper, former economic analyst for the National Youth Administration, estimated at the hearings on the American Youth Act that 3,000,000 young people were members of relief families in May, 1935. Of these, he stated, "about half a million had never worked—had never even had the satisfaction of being fired. There are today

YOUTH ON SPECIAL PROGRAMS

MAY, 1935



STUDENTS



TRANS-
IENTS



RURAL
REHABILITATION



CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 55,000 YOUTH

total of about 1,500,000 young people who have never had any sort of job, who face permanent unemployment."

Two million young people left high school and college last year. That their dilemma is not of a transitory nature is perhaps best seen in Mr. Harry Hopkins' recent statement that, were the 1929 level of employment once again attained, there would remain four and a half millions out of work. And it is common knowledge that, hardly without exception, industries which have approached 1929 production levels have done so without the trouble of hiring comparably augmented labor forces.

More than one thousand young people converged on Washington last March to place before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor their own youth bill. Sponsored in Congress by Senator Benson of Minnesota and Congressman Emilie of Wisconsin, it was drawn up by the National Council of the American Youth Congress according to specifications set by 1,205 delegated representatives of a million and a half young men and women assembled in Detroit last July.

Although the recent session of Congress ignored it, the American Youth Act has aroused more than spurious "sympathy" in Washington. Just as the inauguration of the National Youth Administration coincided with the calling of the second American Youth Congress last Summer, so did assurances of its extension follow closely on the heels of the Youth Act hearings, despite the fact that its untimely demise had been freely predicted at the nation's capital.

Campaign for the Youth Act

Youth, especially the increasingly broad sections of it that have become organized and federated together in the Youth Congress, is through being kicked around by plutocrats and politicians! Its campaign for the Youth Act has demonstrated that it is tired of taking "no" for an answer and is ready to take

plenty of pains pointing out the discrepancies between the bouquets being conceded it and the constructive policies necessary to meet the needs as outlined in the Youth Act.

The fatal forecast of Mr. Aubrey Williams to the extent that modern youth allows the steady recession that has already set in to continue, will become a reality. He predicted "We know that a vast overwhelming majority of the children borne in the last twenty-five years will never rise above a hand-to-mouth existence; that all their steps from the cradle to the grave will be dogged by poverty, sickness, and insecurity." Youth's responsibility is clear. It is in terms of organization and program.

● ●

"We declare that our generation is rightfully entitled to a useful, creative, and happy life, the guarantees of which are full educational opportunities, steady employment at adequate wages, security in time of need, civil rights, and peace."

—SECOND AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS, 1935

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The main problem with youth at the present day arises out of unemployment. If work opportunities were available to their parents so that they could remain in school or to those young people who must become a part of our economic and social organization our major difficulty would be overcome. If those needs were met, then the problems of youth would become those of normal development.

WILLIAM GREEN, *President*
American Federation of Labor

●

... the song of Peace must soar and rise
To high adventure and pain and death,
For Youth will wager his dying breath
For a cause that wings to the very skies.

MARIE DRENNAN

The American Youth Act

The American Youth Act originated in the American Youth Congress, a federation of youth organizations. Hearings on it were held before the Congressional "Committee on Education and Labor" March 19-21, 1936.

Briefly the Act provides for—

1. A system of vocational training and employment on public enterprises for youth between the ages 16 and 25, wages at the prevailing rate, in no case less than \$15 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

2. The payment of fees and living expenses of needy persons in high schools and vocational schools, such compensation, exclusive of all fees, not to be less than \$15 per month.

3. The employment of college students on projects of an academic nature, at not less than \$25 per month.

The Act shall be extended to all youth without discrimination of nativity, sex, race, color, religious or political opinion or affiliation, or labor activities. The board to administer the Act would consist of a one-third representation by youth, organized labor, and certain other community organizations. Funds would be raised by a levy on inheritances, gifts, and individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 a year or over.

We quote from two of the witnesses:

Charles A. Beard: "In my own span of years I have seen the conditions in which youth must find a way to a good life radically altered by the course of events. . . . When I was a boy anyone could go farther west and acquire a homestead for the mere asking under the Homestead Act of 1862 after complying with the terms of that law. . . .

"The point I am trying to make is that government's concern with youth and opportunity is not new. It is old. It is American. . . . It cannot turn the weak into the strong or make foolish people wise, but it can help in providing youth opportunities to prepare for life and to live wisely and well.

"The conditions prevailing in my youth have changed fundamentally. There is not any more free land for homeseekers.

The work of the pioneers has been done. A great crisis has shaken American economy from top to bottom. . . . (Here Dr. Beard quoted figures on unemployment and relief.)

"Now, these figures are tragic and they are a frightful challenge to us. If a flood or an earthquake or a train wreck destroys a few lives, newspapers are filled with flaming headlines and whole pages of reports. The loss of life is tragic. The destruction of property is to be deplored, but the Nation can survive such calamities of nature. *But if this Nation is to endure, is to carry on its great traditions, is to accomplish still better things, it cannot allow the hope and faith of youth to be broken.*"

Louise Sowards (representing The Pioneer Youth of America): "I am the daughter of a West Virginia coal miner. I am 17 years old and a junior in high school. My father was injured in the mines. He will never be able to do heavy work again. When his compensation was cut off we had to go on direct relief. We received \$3.50 a week for four people. . . . I was forced to quit school because my books cost me \$15 and because I could not buy clothes, shoes, and lunches. . . .

Youth in a Mining Town

"Life in a mining town is different from in other places. The homes are all of one dull color. Outside toilets sometimes drain into the well that everyone uses. Coal and wood fires are used for heat. Children are everywhere. There is no privacy indoors. Usually three people sleep in a bed. Families eat the cheapest kind of food. Usually a meal consists of one dish. . . .

"Mining towns have almost no social activities, and the result is that young people turn to sex, forcing them into marriage much too young, before they have really seen anything of life. If these children were properly educated and had jobs they would not have to turn to sex to amuse themselves. Many of them are very intelligent and do want to get away from it all. But do they have a chance? What is their future?"

The Rights of Negro Youth

• By Juanita E. Jackson

There are two and a half millions of us—young colored Americans. Let us see how we fare.

Thousands of us do not have a chance to be educated. Southern states where 82.2 per cent of Negro youth live spend an average of \$44.31 for the education of each white school pupil, and \$12.57 for the colored.

There are 257,461 Negro youth between the ages of 15 and 24 who cannot read or write. They comprise 10.5 per cent of the total number of Negro youth of this age range, whereas the illiteracy rate of white youth of this same age grouping is only 1.9 per cent.

Those who do go to school, must, for the most part, attend poorly equipped, dilapidated, crowded school buildings. Many walk five and ten miles to school.

Over 22,000 Negro students now in colleges cannot pursue graduate and professional training in the tax supported state universities of 16 states, where segregation is required. This condition is more than tragic when we view the fact that Negro college enrolment has jumped from 5,231 in 1922 to 22,609 in 1932.

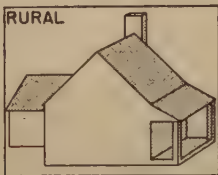
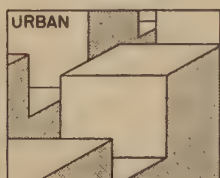
Last to be Hired and First to be Fired'

We have to have bread. But there are few means of earning

Employers will not hire us, unions refuse to admit us. The Negro is the first to be fired and the last to be hired. Plants have dismissed thousands of Negro workers in order to make employment for whites—with no regard to the consequences upon Negroes. Thousands of Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers face eviction and the terrorism of landowners because they dare organize to secure a living wage.

Over 300,000 Negro youth are unemployed and not at-

YOUTH ON RELIEF



WHITE



COLORED



WHITE



COLORED



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 3 PERCENT

tending school. There are 43,800 on relief. The N.Y.A. give aid to only 19,000 high school and college students. The vast groups of unemployed and out-of-school Negro youth have not been reached.

Black Rights and White Rights

James Crow still rules the Southland. Millions of Negroes cannot vote. In the North as well as the South, we are denied equal access to public institutions, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, street cars, theatres, department stores. Even churches draw the color line.

Angelo Herndon and the nine Scottsboro boys are symbols of the widespread injustice in the courts.

Mob violence, covenants among property owners plus economic inability force us to live in deteriorated areas of communities where housing conditions are of the worst, where vice, crime, and disease are bred.

There were 25 lynchings in 1935 and 102 narrowly averted ones. Already in 1936, eight men have met gruesome deaths at the hands of mobs. Lynching has become a problem of Negro youth. Most of us live in constant fear. It may happen to any one of us—any day!

Negro Youth in Action

To Negro youth these conditions are a challenge. We are tired of starvation, mob violence and oppression. We are a part of America. Ours is a *right* to life, liberty, and happiness. We mean to have it!

On Negro college campuses, liberal clubs are being formed. Negro students, realizing the interests they have in common with white youth, are participating in interracial student organizations both radical and conservative, marching in hunger parades, taking active part in the student strikes against war, discussing the American Youth Act, fascism, and war.

In local communities, Negro youth, out-of-school, out-of-work, and desperate, strongly resenting the color barriers, have taken advantage of tactics which bring immediate results. They are forming picket lines with the slogan, "Buy Only Where You Can Work" and are boycotting stores which refuse to employ them.

Forums have sprung up throughout the country. In parlors, homes, churches, schools, community centers, groups of young Negroes are discussing the problems which they face, forming themselves and deciding upon specific courses of immediate action.

Negro youth are just becoming aware of their potential power as a nationally organized racial minority. While local organizations of Negro youth are myriad, national organizations are few. Outside of national fraternities, sororities, and church groups, there are two national movements among Negro youth. And these are in their early stages. They are the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which aims to be interracial, but whose present constituency is mainly Negro; and the Youth Division of the new National Negro Congress. The former is a membership organization. It uses as its tools education, the courts, the ballot, and legislation, in an offensive as well as defensive fight for the rights of Negro youth to all educational, economic, and political opportunities. The

latter is a federation of Negro youth organizations, working mainly in the economic field.

Although there is a large group of Negro youth active in the struggle for justice, participating in the united fight for peace and freedom, there is a larger group yet unreached and passive. We shall not stop until they have been awakened. To that end, we dedicate ourselves.

• •

Farm Youth Turns to Co-ops

• By Gladys Talbott Edwards

Farm youth in America today face a situation which is little realized by the majority of our people. We have been fed too long upon a philosophy of "confidence," until we overlook the facts.

Educational Handicaps

One of the facts which seems to be constantly overlooked is the lack of educational facilities for young people on the farm. The percentage of young people who are able to continue their education beyond the eighth grade is far lower in the country than in the town. Farm parents in these disastrous days find it impossible to take on the extra costs of higher education, especially when there must be added to that the cost of board and room away from home.

Add to this the serious disadvantage of wretched facilities in the country for elementary education. Look at the small unmodern, unsanitary, poorly lighted and ventilated one-room shacks scattered over the country today. Over-worked and under-paid teachers, who lack proper equipment and time to give these children the things they need to know, further handicap them.

There was a time, in the early history of our country, when it was not so necessary that the rural youth should have an education commensurate with his city brother. That was in

the days when producing foodstuffs from fertile acres was a not too difficult job. Breaking out new prairie land and holding down a homestead did not require a great deal of education. A farm boy grew up to inherit his father's farm, or he could go west, and get cheap land for himself.

That day is past. There is no longer land to be taken for the working of it. And the inheritance from the father is a mortgage, if, indeed, there is any vestige of title left to the land and once so proudly pioneered.

A Dark Future

Farm youth today faces a dark future. With no inheritance and with a background of unequal educational advantages, with few or none of the physical comforts which are the accepted order in a city or town, what is he to do? He cannot go to the city to find work. The cities are full of young people, accustomed to city ways and city life, who cannot find jobs here.

But the farm youth has learned one thing from the history of his fathers. When things were economically unbearable for them, they went west. When they got there, they took the land, and working together, they produced the things that the world had to have. Individually the pioneer was helpless, but working with his neighbors, he cleared the forest, tilled the land and made a farmstead out of a wilderness. The real lesson that the pioneers learned and passed on down to their posterity, who are the farm youth of today, was that when they couldn't do a thing alone, they called in the neighbors and did it together.

There is no longer land to be taken. In place of the free land, we have an industrial business system, which controls the entire country. Farm youth are realizing that this business system does not feed the world any better than did the fallow land in their ancestors' day. They are realizing that it is their task and their duty—nay, it is their hope for the future, to take this business system, and make it feed the world, as their

fathers took the land. And they can do it as their fathers did—by working together.

Cooperation—the Way Out

The cooperative system of business is an established fact in America. It has been sponsored by farm organizations all over the United States. The education in cooperation as a business principle is carried on by one great rural organization after another. Practical demonstrations of its success are on every hand. Cooperatives in the petroleum industry in America are saving their patrons millions of dollars every year. Cooperative marketing organizations have protected the producers of farm commodities, returning to them their fair share of their earnings by millions of dollars, and protecting them by working for laws which will guard their interests. Everything grown on farms in the United States is handled cooperatively in some part of the country. The boy who can buy a new suit, or the girl who can go to school a half year on Dad's dividend from the Cooperative is going to feel that there is something of hope in the cooperative business system.

Farm organizations are waking up to the fact that cooperation must mean more than just a return of dollars and cents. The Farmers Union Cooperative Education Service in the north-central states group (North and South Dakota, Montana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin) and the Farm Bureau Federations of Ohio and Indiana are doing notable work in carrying on folk schools, training centers and summer camps for their young people. Study clubs are maintained by these organizations and by the Grange as well. The purpose of this educational work is not only to teach these young people the principles of cooperative business, but to develop a rural culture through education and recreation.

It is their study and understanding of the philosophy of the cooperative movement, which is turning farm youth to it, by the thousands, and giving them a new hope and a new vision for the future.

The Student Sees the Issue

• By Joseph P. Lash

What distinguishes the present student generation in terms of social action is its consistent and continuous efforts to achieve a better life. Progressive action is now as commonplace on the campus as union activity is on the industrial field.

Student progressivism and radicalism focus themselves about four main problems—peace, economic security, racial equality and academic freedom. These are all threatened by the economic and political order, controlled by the few, which is responsible for preventing the realization of these ideals.

The student movement has made a particularly noteworthy record in its anti-war activities. It also has done yeoman work in the field of cooperatives. It has organized unions of N. Y. A. student workers to campaign for the American Youth Act. It has become a bulwark against such men as Hearst, who would reduce the university to the status of barracks. It has cooperated on a wide scale with labor in strikes. Possibly this is one of its most outstanding contributions. The student body has always been a great reservoir of scabs. Now there is gradually spreading a general tradition of friendship and a realization of common interest with the workers.

The Student Revolt

The factors most responsible for the growing consciousness of students on social issues are the depression and the threat of war. There is no greater sensitivity to war than among the student population. But the economic depression also wreaked its havoc on the campus. Students have a greater knowledge of the possibilities of American society. As a consequence they are less willing to accept submissively the privations of an antiquated social system.

The organizations through which the student revolt has expressed itself have been three, the *National Student Federation of America*, the *Student Christian Movement*, and the *American Student Union*. The N.S.F.A. is an organization of student body presidents. That is both its strength and weakness. It is probably one of the most representative student groups. At the same time its members and officers are most sensitive to official pressures of various types. The president of the N.S.F.A. is always under great pressure from Washington. Local student body officials always have the bait of teaching jobs dangled before their eyes. As a consequence the N.S.F.A. has not been very vigorous in its progressivism. It has, however, under pressure from the united student front, supported the American Youth Act, the Nye-Kvale bills, and campaigns against student loyalty oaths.

The most powerful student organization is undoubtedly the Student Christian Movement, composed of the student divisions of the YMCA and YWCA. It is also one of the most progressive, cooperating with the left-wing groups, making a good record on race relations and peace. If it goes slowly, it is only because such a large organization will of necessity have to conciliate many diverse opinions within itself in arriving at a position.

In this way it is different from the American Student Union which has not had to adjust itself to the social and economic crisis but is a product of that crisis. The A.S.U. was formed out of an amalgamation of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, respectively socialist and communist in sympathy. The union of these two groups acted as a magnet drawing in many liberal and progressive students who previously had been inactive and indifferent to the radical organizations. The A.S.U. is the dynamo in the student movement. It sets the pace.

A United Student Front

All three groups have come more closely together, especially on the issue of peace, and have created a united student front. If one considers the middle class social background of the college population, if one considers the power of the middle class in America, then one begins to realize the service being performed by this united student front in winning the college student to progressive social action. Its significance becomes even greater when one realizes that the European university is almost wholly a breeding ground for reaction and the student recruit for the storm troop.

It cannot be said that the united student front has completely eliminated the danger of American students going fascist, but it has prevented any fascist group from winning widespread allegiance so far, and has organized its own ranks with an efficiency and lack of factionalism that bodes well for the future.

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Youth Fights for Life

• By James Wechsler

There is seemingly only one certainty about the future: war. All other factors, our hopes and aspirations and ambitions, must remain variables revolving around this apparent constant. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the present day student is his unwillingness, in the face of these developments, to give way to cynicism and to embrace despair. Instead he has resolved to fight for his life.

It is of more than casual significance that, despite attacks from those who profess to be friends of peace and those who are known to be its enemies, the student peace movement endures, growing in power and purpose. There can be no question of its depth or permanence; what it needs most are allies in crucial centers of American life, capable of carrying on a

decisive attack on the war machine along a national front. Students will not stop war alone. Until the labor movement assumes the responsibility for the leadership of anti-war action, until millions of others in professional, middle class spheres indicate their willingness to adhere to such action, our efforts on the campus will necessarily be tentative, without hope of final effectiveness. Because we have made such important inroads in the schools, however, a study of student peace efforts has real relevance for all those seeking a strategy and a perspective.

Abolish the R.O.T.C.

Our approach is two-fold: first, the problem of immediate, day-to-day opposition to militarism and its university symptoms; second, the shaping of some program capable of meeting a war crisis.

Today our actions must concentrate on the campaign against the R.O.T.C. Nor does opposition to the R.O.T.C. imply merely rejection of its compulsory features. So long as the R.O.T.C. remains, the danger of compulsion exists; so long as its power is unchecked, its possibilities as a reactionary, Storm Troop reservoir must be plain. We will support such measures as the Nye-Kvale bill designed to eliminate compulsory drill, but we will do so as a step toward total elimination, rather than as an end in itself.

The Oxford Pledge—not to support any war which the government may undertake—is well-known. Accepting a pledge is not the final aim of any movement. When that pledge expresses the understanding and determination of a movement, however, it assumes more than momentary importance.

The Student Strike

Closely related to the Oxford Pledge is the student strike. The strike is an occasion for expressing, in dramatic terms, our present insistence upon peace. It articulates our opposition to the R.O.T.C. It brings before the people and their



Congress our demand for transfer of war funds to student relief. It states, on hundreds of campuses, our united resistance to the red-baiting, hysterical onrush of reaction, so closely identified with the approach of war fever.

While it focuses attention upon these immediate objectives, the strike is also a dress rehearsal for the crisis. If, despite all our efforts and the efforts of the American people, war does come, the student strike is an instantaneous answer. It is entirely likely that a session of Congress called to declare war would encounter a walkout of hundreds of thousands of students.

Veterans of Future Wars

War is no longer holy. That much is clear from the success of the Veterans of Future Wars in the stinging rebuke their posts have given to war. Although the leadership of the V.F.W. seems more interested in satirizing the veterans' bonus, the membership has seized upon the project as a devastating satire of the brass hats.

Our crucial tasks are tasks of organization. That has been the essential aim of the American Student Union: to consolidate those of all political and religious faiths who are prepared to undertake the perilous business of defending their own lives. To those who have been sceptical of such united efforts to those who have predicted that it could not endure, we can only point to this year's student strike in which 500,000 students—three times the number previously attracted—took part, with a minimum of friction or dispute.

The growth of the American Youth Congress has demonstrated a similar tendency among broader strata of young people. Whether we like it or not, this is not an hour of choice between various forms of a new social order. This is an hour in which every hope for social change is endangered by a common enemy. This is a period in which we must, above all things, obtain a "breathing spell" in which the vision of a cooperative society may become more widely shared. War and reaction would banish that vision or at least delay its realization a hundredfold. It is important to report that the younger generation is profiting from the lessons of defeat and despair to which its predecessors fell victim. If our efforts are unavailing, we shall at least have left no stone unturned.

Church Youth and Social Action

• By Lucy M. Eldredge

The church program for youth is strongly directed towards thinking through the problems of the social order—war, poverty, race prejudice, insecurity. The continuing problems of personal integrity and faith are still central. The conviction has come, however, that unless youth can be helped to an understanding of our tragic social distress and will cooperate in creating peace and plenty through democracy, youth's life stands unfulfilled and hopeless.

The Pilgrim Fellowship is the organization in which are united the young people of the Congregational-Christian churches. The slogan in which is gathered up their ideals and which expresses their program is "Christian Youth Building New World." To these ends they commit themselves—

- To achieve *Christian personality* after the pattern of Jesus,
- To seek a *fuller understanding* one of another, in the interest of happy relations in *home* and *community*,
- To work for a *united church*, practicing Christian freedom and definitely promoting the program of Jesus,
- To secure *equal rights and opportunities* for all classes and races as equally the children of God,
- To practice a *Christian patriotism* which recognizes the authority of God in conscience as supreme,
- To strive for *justice in the social order* which will afford an abundant life for all,
- To work for such *international organization* of the nations which will preserve peace and security.

Through the Pilgrim Fellowship the youth of our churches, cooperating in a similar program with the young people of other denominations, explore the meaning of Christianity in terms of the international, racial, industrial issues of the day. This summer many youth conferences are being held, sponsored by the churches. Next fall stress will be laid upon these major issues—race relations, Christian patriotism, world peace.

The day is gone when youth's eyes were kept closed to the social issues, in the thought that young people should be screened from reality and in the expectation that only adults could solve these problems. Youth knows today that all hopes crash in the breakdown of our economic machinery and in the clash of arms. A new sensitivity has been born, a new understanding. Church youth stand with all other young people of courage and hope in struggling for a world free from oppression and tyranny, where men are indeed brothers and comrades.

Organizations You Should Know

CHRISTIAN YOUTH BUILDING A NEW WORLD, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago. Congregationalists and Christians should write to 14 Beacon Street, Boston. Read "*The Pilgrim Highroad*," \$1.25 a year.

A united Christian youth movement being developed cooperatively by Protestant churches of the United States and Canada.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, 1734 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

4-H CLUBS, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS, 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.
A federation of youth organizations for united action. Sponsor of the American Youth Act.

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.
The first full alliance in the United States of liberal, progressive and left-wing student groups, both high school and college. Publishes "*The Student Advocate*," 50c. a year.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Its program is to educate for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR, 532 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Publishes "*Peace Action*," 50c. a year.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, 171 West 12th Street, New York City.

Publishes "*The War Resister*," 30c. a year.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

Publishes "*Fellowship*," \$1.00 a year.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

Publishes "*Breaking the War Habit*," 25c. a year.

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Publishes "*Fight*," \$1.00 a year.

For Further Reading

Books:

The Lost Generation, by Maxine Davis. Macmillan, 1936. \$1.50. Stories told a journalist by hundreds of young people interviewed during a 10,000 mile trip around the United States.

Christian Youth in Action, by Frank W. Herriott. Friendship Press, 1935, \$1.00. What youth has done and can do in meeting current social problems.

What Will You Do About It? by Sue Weddell and Frank W. Herriott. Friendship Press, 1935, 62 pp., 25c. A guide to action, based on "Christian Youth in Action."

Youth's Work in the New World, by T. Otto Nall. Association Press, 1936, \$1.25. How youth can discover its place in the working world.

Social and Religious Problems of Young People, by Sidney A. Weston and S. Ralph Harlow. Abingdon, 1934, \$1.75. Case studies of problems which young people actually discuss.

Pamphlets:

Youth Faces the World. Building America, No. 8, May, 1936, 27 pp., 25c. The problems confronting young people; includes a teacher's guide.

The American Youth Act. Government Printing Office, 1936, 279 pp. Hearings on the A.Y.A. before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Copies may be had free by writing your senator.

Campus Strikes Against War, by J. P. Lash. League for Industrial Democracy, 1935, 47 pp., 10c.

Youth Demands Peace, by James Lerner. American League Against War and Fascism, 23 pp., 5c.

Youth Against War and Fascism. American League Against War and Fascism, 11 pp., 2c.

Ke-Kvale Bill. Committee on Militarism in Education. Free.

Christian Youth in Missionary Action. Pilgrim Press, 1936, 42 pp., 5c. Suggestions for Sunday programs.

Read and Talk About. Pilgrim Press, 1936, 42 pp., 5c. Describes study courses and lists books and pamphlets for reading and study under the ten divisions of *Christian Youth Building a New World*.

Youth and Social Change

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As far as I can see, the best way to do something of permanent value for present youth and for the future of society is to take the measures that will change the social causes that have produced the present plight. The experience of the Old World, notably Italy and Germany, shows that "youth movements" when they move in isolation from basic changes in the structure of society may be directed toward reaction even more readily than toward desirable ends. Youth, made desperate by finding that society makes no provision for it, may grasp at straws if the straws float on a current that supplies some immediate outlet for pent up energies. We may expect in this country more and more appeals addressed to youth from American congeners of European Fascism . . . For the youth problem in this country I see no solution . . . save one that enlists their minds and hearts in behalf of intelligent plans for social change based upon understanding of existing conditions.

—JOHN DEWEY